

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8194

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USEUCOM

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USMISSION NATO

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S E C R E T NICOSIA 224

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU

SUBJECT: THE ARISING DEBATE OVER A "UNITARY", "FEDERAL" OR
"SINGLE" CYPRUS

REF: NICOSIA 205

SUMMARY: PUBLIC ARGUMENT IS RISING OVER ISSUE WHETHER CYPRUS IS TO
BE "UNITARY" OR "FEDERAL", AND AT LEAST ONE PAPER IS CLAIMING USG
SUPPORT FOR GOCYPRUS POSITION AGAINST TURKS. FOREIGN MINISTER TAKES
POSITION USG IN 1972 SUPPORTED "UNITARY" STATE WHICH HE CONSIDERS
INCOMPATIBLE WITH FEDERAL SYSTEM. HE ASKS WHETHER USG POLICY HAS
CHANGED. WE PROPOSE ANSWER WHICH WILL AVOID COMMITTING USG ON
UNITARY/FEDERAL QUESTION, WHILE REAFFIRMING 1972 POLICY STATEMENT.
END SUMMARY

1. DEBATE AS TO WHETHER CYPRUS SHALL BE A "UNITARY" OR "FEDERAL"
STATE IS INTENSIFYING, AND TEMPERS ARE GROWING SNAPPISH.

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2. GREEK CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERT DEKLERIS AND GOCYPRUS PIO JUMPED ON

FEB 3 TURK CYPRIOT PIO STATEMENT, REITERATED THAT ONLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS IS UNITARY STATE, AND CHARGED TURK WITH "BARREN CHARGES ON DOGMATIC SUBJECTS." NEITHER PICKED UP TURK PIO HINT THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO FIND A SOLUTION AND LEAVE TITLE UNTIL LATER.

3. PRO-GOVT "PHILELEFTHEROS" PICKED UP PRESIDENT NIXON'S STATEMENT AGAIN, EQUATED "SINGLE" WITH "UNITARY" AS DEMONSTRATING FULL USG/GOC AGREEMENT ON SOLUTION CYPRUS PROBLEM, OBSERVED THAT THIS WAS PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT IN VIEW OF GOT SUPPORT FOR "FEDERATION" AND URGED USG TO LINE UP SUPPORT FOR USG/GOC POLICY. CLERIDES' "AGHON" (APPARENTLY MOVING SHARPLY TO THE RIGHT) GAVE PRESIDENT NO THANKS FOR HIS STATEMENT, BUT PREACHED ABOUT USG SINS AGAINST ENOSIS CAUSE. ONLY COMMUNIST "HARAVGHI" FOR OWN OBVIOUS REASONS POINTED OUT THAT "SINGLE" WAS NOT NECESSARILY "UNITARY."

4. IN MY CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER ON OTHER TOPICS (SEPTELS), I MENTIONED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON'S TERM WAS "SINGLE" RATHER THAN "UNITARY", GAVE EXEGESIS ON LINES PARA 4 REFTEL, SAID THAT AS FAR AS EMBASSY IS CONCERNED WE HOPE BOTH SIDES WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO CREATE AN AGREED CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE RATHER THAN BEING DIVERTED BY UNPRODUCTIVE DEBATE OVER TERMS TO DESCRIBE IT.

5. CHRISTOPHIDES SAID HE BELIEVES THERE IS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE HERE, THAT HE HAD UNDERSTOOD USG POSITION TO BE THAT WE CONSIDERED "UNITARY", "UNITED" AND "UNIFIED" TO BE BASICALLY SYNONYMOUS, WHICH MEANT THAT IF WE SUPPORTED A UNITED OR SINGLE CYPRUS WE MUST BY DEFINITION BE SUPPORTING A UNITARY CYPRUS. IN SUPPORT OF HIS STATEMENT HE READ A MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION OCTOBER 2, 1972 BETWEEN THEN DEPUTY SECRETARY IRWIN AND HIMSELF. HE QUOTED IRWIN AS REMARKING THAT UNIFIED AND UNITARY CAN CARRY BASICALLY THE SAME CONNOTATION, THAT EITHER OF WORDS COULD BE USED, BUT THAT INTENT WAS TO CONVEY IDEA OF "AN INTERNALLY UNITED CYPRUS." (NOTE: STATE 181789 OF OCT 4, 1972 DOES NOT INCLUDE SUCH STATEMENT BY IRWIN.)

6. I ATTEMPTED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO DIVERT CHRISTOPHIDES FROM PURSUIT OF THIS INQUIRY, SAID THAT PROBLEM SEEMED ONE OF DEFINITION. I PERSONALLY DOUBTED THAT EFFORT HAD EVER BEEN MADE TO GIVE PRECISE DEFINITION IN GOC/USG CONVERSATIONS. IF "UNITARY" IS MEANT AS BROADLY AS "UNITED", IT WOULD BE ONE QUESTION FOR USG. IF UNITARY IS MEANT IN THE SENSE OF "OPPOSITE TO FEDERAL", I DID NOT BELIEVE THAT

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USG POSITION HAD EVER BEEN TO ENDORSE IT IN THAT NARROW SENSE. I ASKED CHRISTOPHIDES WHETHER BY "UNITARY" HE UNDERSTOOD A TERM MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE WITH "FEDERAL" AND EXPRESSING A PREFERENCE FOR A SPECIFIC NON-FEDERAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT. CHRISTOPHIDES CONFIRMED THAT THIS WAS HIS MEANING.

7. COMMENT: SINCE WE CANNOT DIVERT GOCYPRUS FROM THIS STERILE PURSUIT, AND SINCE IT IS ATTEMPTING TO FORCE EXPLICIT USG ENDORSE-

MENT OF GOCYPRUS VIEW OF TALKS, I BELIEVE WE OWE HIM AN ANSWER, THOUGH PERHAPS WE NEED NOT RUSH INTO IT. SINCE THE UNSYG HIMSELF RECOILED FROM ENDORSEMENT OF "UNITARY" IN FACE OF INCREASINGLY EXPLICIT TURKISH OBJECTIONS, AND SINCE USG HAS NEVER BEEN ON PUBLIC RECORD ENDORSING THE "UNITARY" CONCEPT, I RECOMMEND THAT I BE GIVEN AUTHORITY TO ANSWER FOREIGN MINISTER'S QUESTION SOMEWHAT OBLIQUELY WITH THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A) EMBASSY POLICY STATEMENT OF SEPT 27, 1972 REMAINS UNCHANGED AS STATEMENT OF U.S. POLICY. WE ARE AWARE THAT FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THAT STATEMENT TO MR. IRWIN ON OCT 2. OUR RECORD OF THAT CONVERSATION SHOWS THAT MR. CHRISTOPHIDES HAD SUGGESTED THAT UNITARY AND UNIFIED PERHAPS MEANT THE SAME THING, BUT DOES NOT SHOW THAT MR. IRWIN CONCURRED OR THAT HE ENDORSED THE TERM UNITARY IN THE SENSE WHICH CHRISTOPHIDES NOW USES IT--I.E., IN OPPOSITION TO FEDERAL.

B) USG CONTINUES TO FAVOR A SINGLE SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT IN CYPRUS, BUT DOES NOT BELIEVE USG SHOULD BE IN POSITION OF PREJUDGING WHATEVER AGREEMENT THE INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATORS MAY REACH, OR OF ATTEMPTING TO ATTACH A PARTICULAR LABEL TO THE RESULT OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS.

C) USG BELIEVES THAT TO ASK IT TO ENDORSE A PARTICULAR TERM FOR A CONSTITUTION WHICH HAS YET TO BE SPELLED OUT WOULD NECESSARILY EMBROIL IT ON ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER OF THE EMOTIONAL ISSUE OF "UNITARY" VS. "FEDERAL." TO BECOME SO IDENTIFIED WITH A PARTICULAR (IF IMPRECISE) VIEW WOULD LARGELY NULLIFY USG ABILITY TO PLAY A FRIENDLY AND HELPFUL ROLE IN URGING TALKS TOWARD CONCILIATION AND SUCCESS.

D) USG HOPES THAT ENERGIES CAN BE FOCUSED UPON SUBSTANCE OF PROPOSED AGREEMENT ITSELF RATHER THAN UPON EMOTIONAL TERMS WHICH TEND
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TO HINDER RATHER THAN PROMOTE SOLUTION. AS CHRISTOPHIDES AWARE, WE ARE MAKING THIS POINT IN ANKARA CONCERNING USE OF THE TERM "FEDERAL" AND WE BELIEVE WE ARE JUSTIFIED IN CYPRUS IN MAKING SIMILAR POINT CONCERNING OVER-EMPHASIS UPON THE FORMULA "UNITARY."

8. AS WE HAVE FEARED, THE LEVEL OF MUTUAL SNIPING IS TENDING TO RISE AS HOPES FADE FOR SUCCESS OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. WE BELIEVE USG HAS TO STAY OUT OF MIDDLE AS FEDERAL/UNITARY SQUABBLE. IF DEPT CAN EVOLVE A BETTER FORMULA, WE WOULD WELCOME IT. GRANT

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